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## NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ACTION

April 7, 1978

5/31  
per 12  
Closed 4/12  
Pres to make  
more

MEMORANDUM FOR: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI  
THRU: MADELEINE ALBRIGHT  
FROM: JESSICA TUCHMAN MATHEWS JTM  
ROBERT PASTOR *BP*  
SUBJECT: State Department Report  
Concerning Human Rights  
Policy and the IFIs

Attached is a self-explanatory package for the President containing State's response to the President's directive to study the letter from Congressman Moorhead and others and to report back to him on the implementation of our human rights policy in the IFIs.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab IA.

*mf*  
Guy Erb concurs, and has cleared the letter with Gene Godley at Treasury.

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Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP  
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Date 11-28-66

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THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1978

ES SENSITIVE  
S/S 7806210

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MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Cyrus Vance *CV*  
Warren Christopher *WC*

SUBJECT: Letter from Congressional Group  
That Recently Visited Latin America

We have reviewed the letter given to you last week by the seven Congressmen who recently visited Latin America. Their principal claim is that we have been "overly rigid" in bringing human rights considerations to bear on economic assistance decisions, especially as to votes in the IFIs.

We are committed to the proposition that it is preferable to use positive actions ("rewards") and normal diplomatic channels rather than "sanctions" in pursuing our human rights objectives. However, in addition to the general thrust of our human rights policy, we are explicitly required by a wide array of federal statutes to oppose grants or loans to human rights violators.

We have acted with moderation in these matters. Of the over 400 loans that have been voted on in the IFIs since January 1977, we have voted against only nine and abstained on only 14 on human rights grounds. In addition, we have sought to defer consideration of about 20 loans pending human rights developments in the countries in question; in several of these cases the deferrals were only temporary.

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Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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Date 11-30-16

The countries that applied for the loans as to which we cast negative votes, abstained, or obtained postponements number only 13, as follows:

<u>No Votes</u>	<u>Abstentions</u>	<u>Postponed</u>
Argentina	Argentina	Chile
Chile	Benin	El Salvador
Paraguay	Central African Empire	Korea
South Yemen	Ethiopia	Nicaragua
Uruguay	Guinea	Paraguay
	Korea	Uruguay
	Philippines	

We have also been moderate in withholding or delaying our bilateral economic aid on human rights grounds. Of hundreds of AID projects that have been considered since January 1977, we deferred only 22, five of which were subsequently approved. The very low ratio of deferral results from the fact that virtually all of these projects meet basic human needs. Only six countries were involved, as follows:

Central African Empire  
Chile  
Ethiopia  
Nicaragua  
Paraguay  
Uruguay

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The Congressmen allude to "conditions" in the legislation that would "permit flexible administration." They are presumably referring to the fact that the human rights provisions apply only to governments engaged in "a consistent pattern of gross violations" of human rights and that even as to such governments the amendment permits approval if the loan or project would directly benefit the needy. However, there can be little doubt that the governments of the countries listed above are (or were at the time of the vote) engaged in serious violations of human rights, some in greater degree than others. As for the other "condition" in the legislation -- the "needy people" exception -- we have already put as much strain on it as it can bear.

All of our actions in this area are the result of deliberations by the Interagency Group on Human Rights and Foreign Assistance. The Group was set up last April pursuant to an NSC directive. To promote better understanding of the lengths to which we have gone to assure that our foreign assistance programs reflect our human rights concerns, we have prepared an unclassified summary of the Group's background and operations. This summary stresses that the Group's main purpose is to carry out the applicable statutory provisions and that it has full representation from State's geographical bureaus as well as the most current information from our embassies in the countries involved.

Our human rights policy is by no means all "sanctions". Consistent with P.D. 30, we are intensifying efforts to direct a growing share of our bilateral economic assistance to governments that show respect for human rights. We are also encouraging the IFI managements to channel their lending to countries with good human rights records and to programs that serve basic human needs. We have urged several of our allies to convey the same message to IFI managements, and we believe some of them are about to do so. (As you know, in response to P.D. 30, an interagency study is underway on the effectiveness of recent U.S. actions in the IFIs, and it will

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shed further light on the issues discussed above.)  
In general, we believe that greater emphasis on  
"rewards" rather than "sanctions" can lead to  
beneficial results.

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## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CONFIDENTIAL - GDSACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI

SUBJECT: State Department Report Concerning  
Human Rights Policy and the IFIs

Attached at Tab I is the report you requested from State concerning our human rights policy and the IFIs. Your directive was in response to a letter given to you by Congressman Moorhead and others (Tab B). Also attached is a proposed response to the Congressmen which has been cleared by Fallows. It makes the point that a great deal of what these members find disquieting in our policy is the direct consequence of Congressional action, and urges them to work with us in trying to head off human rights restrictions on such inappropriate measures as the Witteveen facility.

RECOMMENDATION:

That you sign the letter at Tab A.

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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Date 11-30-16

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~~HR: [unclear] 1/78-3/80~~

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~~HR: [unclear] 1/78-2/78~~

~~HR: [unclear] 2/78-3/78~~

~~HR: [unclear] (Interagency Group), 4/77-13/78~~

~~HR: [unclear] 1/78-2/78~~

~~HR: [unclear] Report, 1/78-13/78~~

~~Other Agency Papers, 4/78~~

~~Policy, 1/78-2/78~~

~~Report, 1/78-4/78~~

~~Policy, 4/78~~

~~Human Rights (HR), 1/78-3/80~~

~~HR: [unclear] 1/78-3/80~~

HR: Christopher (Warren) Committee and the IFIs and OPIC, 1/78-3/80

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

May 1, 1978

TO: ED PENNEY

Ed,

As I mentioned to you on the phone, the article threads a thin line between out and out criticism of the human rights policy as it has been applied in Latin America and simply criticism of the current state of our military-to-military relations in Latin America, regardless of the cause. His prescription is fairly positive (i.e., not judgmental) in encouraging military people to work hard to improve relationships or at least stop further erosion.

Specifically, the article argues, on page 9 (at the bottom) that inflated training costs have reduced attendance at the School of the Americas.\* A more accurate view is probably that inflation has reduced our ability to conduct training worldwide. Attendance at the School of the Americas is down in particular because, for the same price, everyone would rather take the training in the United States. In the FY 1979 budget, we have taken steps to reduce the cost of training at the School of the Americas and hope thereby to increase attendance.

Les Orend

\* located in Panama, The Canal Zone

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 27, 1978

TO: ~~VIC UTGOTT~~  
~~BOB SPASTOR~~

FROM: ED PENNEY *EP*

SUBJECT: General Brown's Article for a  
Foreign Affairs or Military  
Journal

Would appreciate your comments and  
approval of the attached article text.

Thanks.

7A  
LES DEWEND

Jim Thomson said  
you "might have a  
problem with the  
material that starts  
on page 8" Please  
let me know if you  
have any problems.  
Thanks C

*Ed Penney*  
*26/11/78*

~~Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP~~

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OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
(PUBLIC AFFAIRS)

27 April 1978

Memo for Mr. Ed Penney, National Security Council

Attached article is planned for publication in a Foreign Affairs or Military Professional Journal under General George Brown's byline. It has been reviewed here and at State -- State's changes are noted in the ext.

Article was originally presented as a speech on behalf of General Brown by his assistant, Lt Gen W. Y. Smith, at a Latin American Chiefs of Mission conference at State in February of this year. Speech was not made public.

Request NSC review and clearance of this article for publication. General Brown's office will, after NSC clearance, coordinate again with State before arranging for publication of the article.

We would appreciate it if we could get NSC clearance early next week.

Thanks very much for your help.

*John A. Worthington*  
John A. Worthington  
Capt USAF  
Military Assistant to  
the PCASD (PA)

78  
LES DEPEND

Jim Thomas said  
you "might have a  
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have any problems  
Thanks

Ed Penney  
26/4/78

Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP

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Date 11-20-16

Draft/LTG W. Y. Smith  
17 April 1978

REMARKS PREPARED FOR AN  
ADDRESS BY  
GENERAL GEORGE S. BROWN, USAF  
CHAIRMAN, JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF  
LATIN AMERICAN CHIEFS OF MISSION  
CONFERENCE  
28 February 1978

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I

I welcome this opportunity to present my views on the interrelationships between the national security of the United States and that of Latin America. Not surprisingly, geography, history and the generally amicable relationships which have prevailed between the United States and Latin America throughout most of this century have led us in the United States for the most part to take Latin America somewhat for granted as we have considered US national security interests and requirements--though initiatives in other fields have amply demonstrated continuing US interest in and US common objectives with many Latin American countries.

Those of us in uniform today are becoming increasingly aware of the contribution of Latin America to the security of the United States. Thus, our mutually rewarding relationships with Latin America on national security and hemispheric security matters merit and have our continuing interest and attention.

Why is Latin America important to US security?

First, the nations of Latin America, and the region as a whole, are fundamentally important to the United States

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HR Argentina, 8/78 - 3/79

~~HR: [illegible]~~

HR: ~~[illegible]~~ (Interagency Group), 4/77 - 13/78

Latin America, 7/77 - 4/79

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